or viniferein, and both of these demands are satisfied by the villages. There has been an extensive and serious attempt by the government to curb depredations of standing timber and to provide for reforestation of the district, but between the need for fuel in the winter and the desire for outdoor shelter in summer the trees continue to suffer.

The livelihood of the district, then, consists almost completely in agriculture and animal husbandry. Although the many difficulties which face cultivators and shepherds elsewhere are to be encountered here, and the poor "dirt" or "loam," the threat of famine seems to be very slight. Real starvation is only remembered from the days of the First World War when a Belgian army cut its way through the valleys, burning crops and villages, and consequences since that time have been few. For the surplus, the fruit of district harvesting have some variation. It has been seen that the Tobacco Monopoly, centered at Rwanduka, controls the harvest and sale of tobacco. A high percentage of other agricultural and dairy products are consumed in the villages themselves. The surplus portions may be variously allocated, some sold directly from the area to agents coming from Kabil, others bought up in the town of Rwanduka, and still others retailed in smaller mercantile towns in the district. It must not be thought that Rwanduka exercises an exclusive commercial monopoly over the area, for there are a number of towns with their own merchants, a few of them real competitors, such as Nyamu, and others a natural response to the requirements

of distance. In the presence of enterprising merchants, particularly the ainu or Ishimoori traders who will be discussed below, a cultivator in some outlying village need not undertake the arduous journey across broken country to Kawanaka to retail his products and to purchase the materials required by his home.

The agricultural village can enjoy a certain amount of self-sufficiency insofar as the food supply is concerned, although the specialization in tobacco has transformed this to some extent, but there are a number of other requirements which only the merchant can satisfy, many of them "necessary luxuries" without which life is hardly bearable. For reasons which can only be speculated upon, the Burkish villager is lucky for from being the master of his environment, and there are undoubtedly present a number of mineral, vegetable, and animal products which could be utilized to good advantage. He is an innovator and his knowledge of what he will manufacture, the ingenious exploitation of the environment at a primitive level, is practically nothing. Once a young ainu exhibited as a trophy an Ibex skin, dried hard and stiff, which, if properly tanned, would have made an excellent rug or covering. An inquiry, and later investigation, revealed that only a few villagers know the techniques of preparing skins; almost all of the leather which is locally produced and put into use is what is commonly called rawhide. The villager thus requires a great complex of things, of which only a few are cigarette papers, cloth, cooking utensils, iron or steel

require detailed description, but it is possible to present here an idea of the typical merchant's establishment, as many of them are almost identical. This is a three-sided room, open to the street on the fourth, with a width of six or eight feet and a depth which may vary from ten to twenty, although some are much smaller and a few larger than these dimensions. The floor, raised about a foot above the level of the street, is of tamped earth and may have a carpet or mat spread over it. Some establishments have glass cases for the display of merchandise, but it is much often spread out on the floor, hung from walls or piled against the walls. The shopkeeper usually has several wooden stools at his disposal, one for his own use and others for the accommodation of more important customers and visitors. In the event of such a visit cigarettes are offered and tea brought from a nearby chaikhana. Most merchants have a weekly account with the chaikhana-owner, the latter keeping the tally and presenting his bill. Shops are assisted by a youngster, often a son or a daughter, who runs errands, calls attention to the omnipresent visitor hostel, and watches the shop whenever the owner is away. At night the shops are closed with large wooden shutters, mostly made from packing cases and often displaying stencils such as "Fragile" or "Moore Import Company," and are padlocked.

During most of the year the merchant opens his shop at seven or eight o'clock in the morning, and closes it for an afternoon rest at noon. He reopens at three or four

o'clock and finally locks up for the day at six or seven. 483
Friday, the weekly holiday, does not preclude commerce, and many establishments are operated on a seven-day basis. Business, some merchants hold, is actually better on Friday than during the rest of the week. During the first of December many shops are shuttered during the day, but are open much later in the evening. By a mutual agreement of all the shopkeepers-owners, the two-shops and pieces of cutlery are closed for the day during December sets one. Customers, often brisk, in this "closed" shopkeeper is kept within doors and the entrance carefully watched within heavy barley hanging. On extremely cold days in winter many merchants close their unheated shops and await the warmth of a customer. A would-be customer must page the merchant he seeks, and the latter returns with him to open up the shop just long enough to conclude the sale.

It has already been noticed that all transactions 487
are in terms of money. It is more or less standard that many European and American travelers in the Middle East are led to believe that any sale must be accompanied by interminable haggling and bargaining. This may be perfectly true of larger towns, particularly purchases in which a foreigner is involved, but in a rural setting such as that of Aswanton the case is quite otherwise. In the everyday business of the bazar it would be difficult to observe an example of protracted bargaining, for the range of price for any given article is as well known by the purchaser as it is by the merchant. A woman seeking to buy

on item will encounter a number of shops, inquiring into the price, until she finds what she believes to be the lowest, nothing more than the "competitive shopping" of the European or American housewife, and without bargaining. This does not mean that foreigners will not be overcharged. In the summer of 1933 the price of a Khanjir or dagger was fixed at the unbelievable sum of three dinars (a much more elaborate example of the same weapon costs about one sixth of this price in England or Denmark) due to the indiscreet asking of an American visitor, and neither bargaining nor time could bring it down again. It was immediately established that Americans pay three dinars for their Khanjirs, and one was constantly hailed by persons offering the cheapest specimens in the hopes of realizing that price. Prices are, within certain limits, geared to the social status of the purchaser, and the prisoners, for example, might be expected to pay more for a given commodity than another. In a small town of this sort, however, while prices are uncontrolled, public opinion and the facility with which one merchant will undersell another, act as strong limitations, and the difference between "asking price" and "selling price" is apt to be insignificant.

There is extensive daily cooperation among merchants. If a customer, for example, wished to buy six tea-glasses from a certain shopkeeper and only four were on hand, the latter would send his boy down the street to borrow what was required from another merchant. The same is true of money, and cashing a large banknote may involve any number

of persons in a series of exchanges. There is neither bank nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a merchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up in a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter practice being quite common. For everyday purposes the merchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a qiran or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer. A number of the older men are illiterate, and the difficulties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. Several years ago the teachers offered the townspeople some courses along these lines at night, and were very surprised at their popularity. The greybeards learning their arithmetic is still considered a grand joke. Usually the illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to prepare their lists and to work out more complicated sums, and many place high expectation in the help of their sons at school.

Before describing in greater detail the roles of the merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient here to provide a list of persons according to their occupations. It will readily be seen that a number of these are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still others employed only in the service of those residing in the town. It is appropriate, however, to present a complete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations of the townspeople, save only those who are wealthy enough to neglect work, the mullas or religious leaders, those

a formal situation, particularly when the person enter- 265
ing is a stranger and receives some scrutiny from those 578
already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," as-Salaam aleykum, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," wa aleykum as-Salam. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the goodness of God," Ullah bikhayr, which is returned with a similar salute and the same words. The refreshments of a chaykhana are limited. Tea 265
is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istakhan) on [45]
porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of [272]
coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the [262]
liquid is decanted. Mastaw, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some chaykhanas offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the chaykhana, nor are there [443]
any edibles, although youngsters often hawk bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or tavli, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. [524]
The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of 353
the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian 265
magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Quran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A chaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family.

carried into town and hung from metal hooks on a wall between two shops. By ten o'clock in the morning the butcher's day is finished, and, aside from the slaughtering-place and the sales' display on hooks, he has no other place of business. Only two or three animals are killed each day, always sheep or goats, because cattle, in their utility in agriculture and the impossibility of profitably disposing of so large a quantity of meat, are almost never killed. The butchers purchase their animals from villagers or kotchir, and sell the dressed meat to their patrons. All parts of the beast are disposed of, if not by humans, then by dogs, and by noon the slaughtering-place is bare, save for a few blackened stains of blood on the gravel. The butchers' greatest days of business occur on the first days of the feasts of Jayjani Ramezan (the 'Aïd el-saghir, "the lesser feast," which ends the fast of Ramadan on the first days of the tenth lunar month) and Jayjani Qurbeg (the 'Aïd el-kabir, "the greater feast," which begins on the tenth day of the twelfth lunar month) when every family able to afford the expense has a sheep or a goat slaughtered in sacrifice. Most households purchase their animals in advance, keeping them in the houseyard until the day of the feast.

That the fisherman and the hunter are only seasonally employed has already been noticed. They offer their respective catches in the bazar at large, or go from door to door among the wealthier households. Villagers with chikaw

443 [223] [235]

appear frequently in the town, for they are virtually assured of a sale. Poultry are not merchandized by any specific persons, because almost every house possesses a number of chickens or ducks, and any person who does not have his own makes a purchase by sending out a call into the neighborhood. The only turkey in the town, a huge bird, was kept by a police sergeant, and people wondered for what magnificent occasion it was being reserved. The sergeant, queried on the point, was uncertain himself, stating that his wife and servant had grown rather fond of the bird because of its notoriety. Dairy products such as milk, mast, and cheese, together with eggs, fruits, and vegetables, are brought daily to the town by villagers, arriving early in the morning and selling their produce to merchants or at the doors of houses. A large proportion of this trade is handled by the women of Balikian, a nearby agricultural village on the main road, and early every morning a number of them make the journey up to Rowandun, their wares slung over their backs in shawls. They are a feature of life in the bazar, and spend an hour or two after their business is concluded gathered about its shops, sometimes purchasing a few trinkets or the requirements of their homes. They are unveiled, like most village women of the lower class, and, interestingly, are vilified one and all by the townspeople as prostitutes. It is supposed that they sell other things in addition to mast and cheese, and the "half dinar egg" (an impossible price

[234]

554 186 443 548

for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fellahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Balikian has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kababchis. The kababchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kababchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

diced and moulded about a metal skewer (kabab) or alternated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same implement (sikh). A charcoal fire is prepared in a rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze, until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a shaykhana. As with the butcher, one must place a request on the day preceding, for after noontime the kababchi has often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique involves equipping the children of the house, either of baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or mill-owners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge, flat bottomed tub.

Rowanduz or Erbil is a proud sight along the road, and its 45
arrival an event of great joy in his household.

The shops of the cobblers are also to be found in 294
the bazar, and, like the carpenters and tinsmiths, they live 291
more by maintenance than by manufacture. A variety of
footgear is worn in the area, including European boots,
shoes, and woman's sandals, and several local types of
slippers. Some village men wear a simple moccasin of raw-
hide laced across the top of the foot with thongs, but the
cobblers of Rowanduz have no hand in these, just as none
would attempt the manufacture of a European shoe. One type
made in the town, extremely popular with men of the lower
classes, is a slipper with rubber soles (cut from an old
automobile tire) and uppers of woven cord which have some
elasticity. Otherwise, only some simple leather slippers
and wooden clogs (kabkabs) are produced for women. One 443
shop is filled with European shoes of all styles, brought [439]
in from Baghdad or abroad, and almost all persons of the
upper classes, government personnel and local population,
affect these for outdoor wear. Most of the cobbler's work 296
is thus in repair, particularly on Fridays, for the soldiers
from the barracks bring boots which, stout as they are,
suffer considerably from the rocky terrain. The two town
bootblacks are middle-aged men who wander among the shops
and chaykhanas with their wooden polish-boxes, looking for [521]
customers and passing on gossip with considerable banter.

An important trade is that of the cloth-sellers or 443

bazaar of whom there are a relatively large number in the bazaar. Cloth is daily in great demand among both townspeople and villagers, for very little manufactured clothing is available or popular. The local weaving of coarse woolen cloth has already been noticed, but the product is used in the fabrication of men's jackets and trousers, and neither its amount nor its quality would satisfy the demands and taste of the district. The cloth-seller's shop is characteristically a small booth with numerous rolls of brightly coloured cotton and darker shaded woolen fabrics piled against its walls. Much of this cloth is European in origin, largely from the mills of Great Britain, India and Japan, and is brought from Erbil. The purchase can either be taken home, as is the case for most cloth destined for women's garments, or carried to the tailor.

The tailors occupy small shops and their equipment consists in a pedal-driven sewing machine, a flat-iron, a tape measure, a pair of scissors, and little else. Almost all European-style clothing, such as that worn by government employees, is purchased in one of the larger cities, Erbil, Mosul, or Baghdad. The tailor's work is almost exclusively in men's garments in the Kurdish style, jackets, trousers, and shirts, and a few other items in linen or cotton, such as pajamas. The customer, having purchased the material of his choice from the bazar, repairs to a tailor with whom a contract is arranged, as well as the amount of time necessary for completion. This

last point, as it is with builder, cobbler, or any other workman, is important to establish, as it is almost never realized and represents a point from which the skirmish of arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing of small children and women is made within the home, either by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier people. A few items of men's clothing are completed in this way, for example, the scarves rolled into men's turbans have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond the men of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is relatively inexpensive (a man's woolen jacket of the best quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three dinars, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars), economy demands that it be used through a succession of persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great many garments, particularly those of children, have a tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at least the children of every house appear at the feast which ends Ramadan, Jayjani Ramazan, in clean, new garments, and

294 437 [443] [292] 294 291 [435] 294 855 796

line of division between these retainers and the professional servants spoken of first, and this explains why the officials and officers, to their annoyance and amusement, are treated more as the heads of Kurdish households rather than as employers. 957 592

If, of all these occupations of the townspeople, there is one which has greater importance, it is that of the merchants, for they, more than any others, in supplying the needs of the householders of both town and villages, in furnishing the necessary capital for larger transactions, in acting as the primary channels of commercial activity, make up the backbone of the town as a mercantile center. Of these, three general types have been listed, the itinerant trader (atar), the general merchant, and the wholesaler. The first group is the most numerous, and, in general, lacks the capital and resource of the second and third. The business of the atar is fairly simple. He applies to a merchant, usually a wholesaler, for a loan, and, if granted, receives it in goods or in money to be so converted. Equipped with wares, he departs from Rowanduz for several weeks or a month in the villages, during which he sells his materials to the villagers. With the money thus realized, he may either return directly to Rowanduz, or invest it in village produce, such as wool, skins, or poultry, which will bring further profit in the town. In any case, however, the profits of the itinerant traders are not excessive, for not only must they support themselves and their families, but assure the merchants of some return 443 • [554] [426]

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on their investments. There are, of course, trips in which a handsome bounty can be acquired, and others when the star is happy to break even. The origins of this class are somewhat varied, for some may be drawn directly from the villages, others are failures in another calling, and still others only follow the steps of their fathers. Similarly, the personnel changes over the years, because a few are fortunate enough to open permanent shops of their own, the fondest dream of the class, many return to their villages, and many take up another vocation.

Unlike the star, the general merchants maintain permanent establishments in Rowanduz and are possessed of a certain amount of capital, in money, land, or merchandise. Their wares may be obtained from the wholesale merchants or brought in directly from Erbil. Their shops are typically packed from top to bottom with an incredible variety of manufactured goods, most of them imported from [439] Europe. A number of these, listed from a single shop, include:

amulets
buckles
buttons
candy
chocolate
cigarettes
cigarette-papers
cocoa
coffee cups
fountain pens
gasoline stoves
glasses
handerchiefs
jewelry
lighters
matches
metalware
neckties
needles
notebooks
orange syrup
paper
patent medicines
pencils
pins
pocket knives
rosaries
salt
shirts
shoe-polish
soap
stationery
stockings
sugar

tea	Turkish coffee	443 ●
toothbrushes	uniform caps	
toys	watches	

On the other hand, the general merchant may buy up a few items of village crafts to resell in his shop, and as much village produce of certain types, such as wool, skins, or flour, as he is able to market at a profit in Rowanduz or Erbil. Some general merchants, to be sure, live from the minor purchases of villagers and townspeople, but others do business in district import and export on a relatively large scale. [438]

To this last group belong the wholesale merchants, 442
bazargan, who usually keep a general shop such as that described above, but who are also the real capitalists of the town, engaged in extensive operations of buying and selling in both Rowanduz and Erbil. They are the ones who furnish capital and supervision to the itinerant traders, and who supply other merchants and craftsmen in the town. In addition, they handle a large volume of miscellaneous commerce. "As'ad Effendi," a builder said, "when you are next in Erbil buy me a new saw and some hinges." "Hajji Ibrahim," said another, "my wife requires special cloth from Erbil for the wedding of our daughter." The wholesalers of Rowanduz are five in number, As'ad Effendi, Hajji Ibrahim, Hajji Muhammad Amin, Hajji Mustafa Shakir, and Sayyid Majjid, and it is interesting to note from the 788
title hajji or "pilgrim," not in use here as a proper [554]
name, that three of the five have been able to make the

pilgrimage to Mecca, an expensive undertaking for the people of Rowanduz.

A more precise idea of the actual sums involved may be obtained from the example of a general merchant, Fatah-Ullah, who, while not in the class of the wholesalers, is wealthier than some of his fellow merchants, and most other shopkeepers and craftsmen in the town. Fatah-Ullah keeps a small general shop in the bazar from which he obtains about 250 fils a day, and owns a house in which he rents two rooms, in 1951 to a police constable and a teacher, for a total of 4 dinars a month. In addition he has a contract with the serai to furnish prisoners in its jail with bread and stew, at about 60 fils for each head, and there are always four or five prisoners on hand. Fatah-Ullah's wife bakes bread, which is peddled about the town by some of his children, realizing about 200 fils every day. His gross income for a year may be estimated as follows:

(1000 fils : 1 Iraqi Dinar : $2.80)

	Per diem	Per mensem	Per annum
Shop	250 fils	6.250 dinars	75.000 dinars
Rental	-	4.000 dinars	48.000 dinars
Contract	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
Bread	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
		20.250 dinars ($56.70)	243.000 dinars ($680.40)

Against this, Fatah-Ullah has a large number of expenditures. He must, of course, purchase the merchandise for his shop, and flour and vegetables for baking and the prison contract. In addition, he must buy food and clothing for himself and his family (he has seven

children, six girls and a boy), and various household necessities, particularly firewood and kerosene. He also has to pay taxes on his house and his shop, as well as maintain two children in school. Finally, there is a variety of miscellaneous purchases, including gifts for his wife, an animal for Jayjani Ramazan, tobacco for cigarettes (his wife is an inveterate smoker), and benevolent collections. All things considered, Fatah-Ullah's cash profit at the end of a typical year is not extensive, perhaps ten or twenty dinars, and this sum is never invested nor is it used to expand his business, but is hoarded in cash and removed from circulation.

In completing this discussion of merchants, craftsmen, and laborers in Rowanduz, it is convenient to reserve until later persons, such as the midwives, as well as a number of others whose employment is only casual or in the service of religion, for they have little real economic significance in the community. Of those here treated, some notes of their origins have been made, and their derivation from older families in the town, from the villages, or from without the district itself, as in the case of Shakir Effendi and the merchant Fatah-Ullah who moved in years past from Sulaymaniya. It is important to realize that all of these occupations, even those of the craftsman, are so simple that almost any man can try his hand at them after the briefest of apprenticeships, and, indeed, the occupational histories of a large number in the town are extremely varied. There are no unions or guilds, and

although the Israeli is universally despised, brought a decline in the variety and quality of craftsmanship in Rowandus freely confessed and regretted by the townspeople. A man who now wishes to purchase such things as gold jewelry for his wife must travel to Erbil. [301]

It must be admitted that the strength of the town as a center based on village trade is precarious, and much of the commercial activity with importance in district economy has been replaced by service to the government personnel and the several wealthy landowners who reside within it. In brief, the economic realignments of the first World War have changed the bases of the size and importance of Rowandus. Once these were primarily commercial, and only secondarily political, while today a reversal of this position has taken place. The increased influence of the government, which is a matter of numbers, into everyday life has introduced into the town a new income without whose supplement Rowandus might have experienced certain decline.

storeroom, although sometimes locked in a cupboard or chest by a watchful mistress. 251

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed by the women, preparation of food, minding the infants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. 462 356 [957]

Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses, and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery is also made. [294]

There is no regular program for laundry and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress feels it is necessary. [296] In general, the woman has a free hand in the management of her home and receives an allowance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest work, because they have been simply established as the "work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood. A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in a <u>chaykhana</u> does not perform the same job in his home. Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although the latter takes a much greater share of their direction. 357

Certain items of food can be obtained at the door of the house, while others are purchased in the <u>bazar</u> 483 556

by servants or children entrusted with money. Poorer women do their own marketing, and the prices of food are well known to the wealthy because they are a well-established topic of conversation. The wives of wealthier houses make only rare appearances in the bazar, usually to make a major purchase, such as cloth for a dress, which requires their personal supervision.

The townspeople have three meals each day, the first between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, the second at noon (although it may be postponed one or two hours for officials), and the third between six and seven in the evening. For the poorer classes, the diet is largely built around bread, dairy produce, dates, and tea, with meat and vegetables only once or twice each week. For the wealthier, breakfast consists of bread and tea, with a choice of cheese, butter, or eggs. A typical luncheon includes dolma (vegetable stuffed with meat and rice), a selection of fruits in summer and dates in winter, bread, mast (artificially curdled milk), and tea. The midday meal is the most important of the three, and supper usually consists of the remains of the luncheon with the addition of cheese and the usual bread and tea. The food can be seasoned with salt and a strong pepper obtained from the merchants, or flavored with garlic and a few aromatic herbs to be had locally. Dates, a staple for the poor and the winter diet of all, are imported from southern Iraq pressed in large blocks. In spite of these general observations, the fare of the wealthy has considerable variety, as a brief, but more

I had only a little, so they started whipping me." 159
"How much did they take?" the Cossack officer asked. 792
"Fifty tumans," he answered, and the officers ordered the other Jews to pay the sum unless they wanted to be beaten also.

When the Russians came to Rowanduz, my family fled to Erbil. I was then about twenty years of age. My father lost all his wealth and became destitute. I told him not to worry, because I would find him the best possible livelihood. I went to a barbershop belonging to a man named Amin. He was shaving one man and another was waiting his turn. I told the customer waiting to be seated, equipped myself with a razor and a towel, and began shaving him. "Who are you and what are you doing?" Amin asked me. "This is not your affair," I answered. "What?" he shouted, "Get out of here. I do not want you." "If you do not want me," I said, "I want you." He was pleased with this answer, and kept me with him for some time. Gradually the war caused things to become worse, and the customers disappeared. I had to have money for my family, so I bought a sack and filled it with coloured sand. I went through [755] the streets of Erbil crying, "Doctor! Doctor! I can cure all illnesses!" People asked me to come into their houses, but I refused until they paid a fee. When I received the money, I went in and poured my sand on the face of the sick man, reciting from the Quran. [727] I gave these sums to my father, but the Turks marched him and my brother to Turkey and they were never seen again. I managed to escape this march.

When the war ended, the British came to Iraq. I was then in the service of a notable named Hajji Hawres in Shaqlawa. There was a Major Hay in the district who spoke Kurdish, and, when he heard from Hajji Hawres what a clever man I was, he took me with him to Rowanduz. He gave me the job of giving food to 200 families of Rowanduz I had known in my childhood. While I was working for the British, all [469] of the Kurds revolted under Shaykh Mahmud and I ran away to Erbil again. On my return to Rowanduz, I opened a tea-shop, but the business failed. After that I opened a shop to sell roasted meat, but the work was too dirty for me. Finally I went to an 443 Armenian merchant named Jagmur, and he entrusted me 159 with goods worth 2000 rupees to sell in the villages 792 around Rowanduz. When I returned, I found I had 300 rupees profit. I took this money to Jagmur, and he said that because I was industrious and honest I could keep it as a gift. I made several other trips for Jagmur, always profitable, but I found traveling for this purpose bothersome. I took my money and opened a shop in Rowanduz to sell groceries. When

this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth.

There was a man in Rowanduz who had great influence, Sayyid Hesenî Effendî Zhrîanî. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. Shakir Effendi here knows of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the qaimmaqam posted an order which appointed me mukhtar of the town. I caught Sayyid Ma'ruf and pushed him into a narrow street. "Now I am master of Rowanduz," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and clothing. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I had to give up being mukhtar and Ma'ruf Effendi was given the post again.

After this, I became sanitary inspector for the Baladiya, the municipality. I asked the qaimmaqam to give me full authority, and Rowanduz has never so clean. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of Mustafa Axîa any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five dinars, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenware should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I secretly inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling less than the proper measures. I covered the top of the stream which gives Rowanduz its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his dishes in it. When people saw me, they ran for miles. On my reports, the government collected 170 dinars from the people of Rowanduz, Kawlokan, and Dyana. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the qaimmaqam about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post.

Thus I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You have seen my shop in the bazar and you know that I am the best barber in Rowanduz. I became a darvish and a khelifa (Arabic, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with some old men, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as cutting themselves without pain, piercing their limbs with skewers, and catching snakes. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kard MA11

Educated and uneducated urban environment can be considered together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sokémond it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was lost for the day. The 4-5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but none of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sokémond bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. Milk is delivered daily from outside. Snow to be put in coolers is fetched from the city by one of the lads, carried home on his head, rinsed under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The annual consumption of butter—about 10 petrol cans full costing about £1 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the elders only. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and samovar, the bucket (*li*) finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Lâkh* is made specially by the husband[?] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *lâkh* could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the city by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and trodding. It is put into sacks stitched together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on outspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain-cleaner woman summoned for the purpose. The dewormed grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within once own or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 In none of the three female environments so far considered was the idea of liberty understood in the same way as it is in the West.

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562 In the fourth and last female environment, the uneducated urban milieu, the veiling was obligatory.
369 As opposed to their educated sisters the uneducated also maintained seclusion. Nothing in their daily
571 activities brought them into contact with the men's world. Household purchases were attended to by the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were bartered from house to house by women. However, women's sealed-off world was not confined to the home, for all women's apartments in the town were in contact with each other. A stream of female visitors entered the home, the
594 women of which frequently visited other homes. Under cover of transportable seclusion there was considerable freedom within the urban women's world. In consequence, uneducated women in towns obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying to the three other feminine milieus. Among humble village women the same possibility naturally applied. Here, however, it took place just as much at watering and washing places, etc., less in the homes. In the uneducated feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive barrier existed between the men's and women's worlds, not only in leisure but also in working hours.

591 For a man married to one or two wives in the uneducated woman's milieu in a town like Sulaimani,
595 one found what Ehrenpreis[1] describes as typical of a Turkish home: "for an Oriental his home is the place where his wife and children are, and where he eats his meals and spends the night ... his real home is either his shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes his spiritual content ...".

562 In the uneducated feminine environment in Sulaimani as represented by my interpreter's home,
252 with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the actual place of work could, exceptionally, be moved to the female area of another home. When baking a larger supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operations to the house of a neighbour. Here there was a modern, jar-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously. This was more effective than the uneven iron sheet laid over the fire that sufficed for daily needs.

562 Visits and return visits constituted the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the
574 educated women in the home only made purchases in the city and then only of material, sweet, of
443 meat and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and delivered by small boys, of whom there were couples, who in this way contributed towards their keep. That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered as any form of oppression, in fact my impression was precisely the same as Wiselquist's, who writes: "... as a rule the conservative Moslem woman in the past did not do her own shopping ... For the women of the past, their lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty but a convenience"[2].

562 An investigation as to which men beyond the immediate family circle had access to the homes of
463 uneducated urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A half-blind ap-

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233 information as to how many individuals go with the cattle or what is
483 their relationship with those that stay behind to get in the harvest.

463 There are few other specialist occupations. Rug making is a
183 specialist accomplishment of some of the women but the quantities produced are of no economic importance. Other crafts are chiefly in the hands of travelling experts who wander from village to village equipped with the tools of their craft and work up the materials offered to them by their clients. One may name for instance the felt maker, the carpenter, the tinker and the builder. It must be emphasised that these people are not dealers but craftsmen. The felt maker works up the wool provided by the villager; the villager must provide the wood before the carpenter can make a fork for him. The capital of such craftsmen can therefore be very small and the return for their work is little more than their keep and travelling expenses.

Traders

463 Quite distinct from these are the various traders who provide
• 473 the contact between the village and the outside world. These are best classified by their Kurdish names - miandrush, star and hawrgan. The miandrush are primarily travelling fruit dealers, their trade is of a local nature and entirely on a barter basis. They provide contact as between one part of the tribal area and another. Thus when I was in Balash a dealer arrived with fruit from Rust which he traded for small quantities of wheat and tobacco.

The star may best be described as a travelling peller. He deals in such items as matches, needles, cigarette papers, spices, kerosene, thread, sugar, tea and coffee - in fact he fulfils the functions of the general village store. His terms are partly barter and partly cash. He can however only deal in small quantities - an Agha such as Sheikh Mohammad would always send in direct to Rowanduz for his sugar rather than purchase it through an star. Occasionally the star is permanently established in a single village. A shopkeeper of this sort is known as dukandar; among the villages I visited, shops of this sort only existed in the smuggling centre of Khalan.

463 The hawrgan maintain permanent shops in the towns such as
473 Rowanduz and Erbil and only send travellers out to the villages. They
463 deal only in the superior categories of goods, - cloth, calico, tea, coffee, sugar, - so that their principal clients are the Aghas. For the most part they are Jews or Armenians. They do not trade for barter but gain their trade by offering elastic terms of credit. It is worth noting that usury seems to be excluded; a debt of £5 incurred today is still a debt of £5 if settled in 3 years time. Presumably to allow for this, the prices are quite extortionate. The development of this system of credit trading is, I think, quite new for this part of Kurdistan. It seems likely in due course to lead to the bankruptcy

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

of either the Aghas or the traders, - it is hard to judge which is the most vulnerable. Thus, Said, son of Sheikh Mohammad of Balash, assured me that he personally was in debt to the tune of £300 and wanted me to get him a job with the oil company in Kirkuk so that he could work off his indebtedness; on the other hand in Dergala I met a rather pathetic little Rowanduz trader who complained that he had £150 out at credit, some of it for over three years, and though he had just been round to dun all his clients he had only managed to collect £3!

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Tobacco Marketing

In a previous section I emphasized the growing importance of tobacco for the economy of this part of Kurdistan. It is now necessary to consider how this tobacco crop is actually marketed. My enquiries on this subject led to somewhat contradictory results and the matter needs further investigation; in general I think the divergence of view was primarily due to the rapidly changing conditions in the tobacco trade. My notes reveal three distinct methods of marketing. The first is that now generally practised in the sophisticated areas of Kurdistan around Sulaimani and in the lowland districts of the Erbil liwa. This method does not at present apply to the Rowanduz area but may be expected to do so as the tobacco crop is increased.

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Marketing procedure 1. The big tobacco factories of Baghdad have their own agents in Kurdistan, who contract with the Aghas for the whole saleable surplus of the village crop. If required the Agha can obtain a substantial cash advance at the time of sowing the crop. Seed and technical advice is often provided by the merchant's agents who presumably work in cooperation with the Government departments concerned. 50% of the crop is the Agha's own by virtue of his land title, the other 50% belongs to individual cultivators. Since however the buyers' agent deals only with the Agha, the latter is in a position to take a substantial commission on the cultivators' share as well. On the other hand the individual cultivator need not sell his crop through the Agha if he does not think he is getting a fair price. But his only alternative is to trade with the shar, who as a middleman, can only offer a much lower price than the buyers' agent offers the Agha. The tobacco is transported from village to town at the buyers' expense in each case.

The second method was described to me as that practised in the old days before the coming of the Baghdad cigarette factories. My informant in this case was a Sulaimani man and I am uncertain to what extent this procedure was ever relevant for the Rowanduz area.

Marketing procedure 2. Trade was on a more individual basis. The tobacco merchants or their agents, with the Agha's consent, made advance contracts with individual cultivators. These advances had the